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SOVIET METHODS OF GUIDING INDIVIDUAL COMMUNIST PARTY
POLICY AND ACTIVITY

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SOVIET METHODS OF GUIDING INDIVIDUAL COMMUNIST PARTY
POLICY AND ACTIVITY

Soviet Communist leaders utilize a variety of methods to ensure a continued dominance and control of the world-wide Communist movement. While the USSR does not exercise a direct, detailed, day-to-day control over the activities of all Communist Parties, it does directly guide their policy and activity wherever these would affect the immediate needs of Soviet foreign policy and (what the Soviet leaders conceive to be) the interests of the international Communist movement. Some Soviet methods of guidance are obvious and overt; others are designed to camouflage and conceal the intervention in the affairs of foreign Communist Parties.

I. Ideology

The starting point and foundation of Communism is ideology, for without Communist ideology there could be no Communist organization. The revolutionary theory of Marxism-Leninism is concerned with the attainment of universal power, and it is the common ground for all Communist believers. It sets forth the ends to be achieved and teaches the means to be employed. Of all "political" parties, the Communist Parties of the world are least subject to national characteristics and geographical differences. Their structure, their principles, their practice and their control of the individual are the same, whether they are in Japan or Great Britain. The indoctrination of Communist ideology produces a "unity of thought and action" which constitutes the international Communist movement.

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The core of the Communist faith is belief in "the Party", belief in its wisdom and goodness, belief in the leadership of the Soviet Communist Party and in the succession of Marx-Engels-Lenin-Stalin. Acknowledgment of the superior wisdom and experience of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) is an integral part of Communist ideology. No other Communist Party, not even the Chinese, is considered to possess the experience of the CPSU. There can be no deviation from the concept of the CPSU as the only true guardian, interpreter and developer of Marxist-Leninist theory. The Soviet Union is the model, and Communists throughout the world subscribe to this article of faith, upholding the infallibility of the CPSU and giving it unquestioning loyalty as the supreme leader of the Communist movement. So paramount is this concept, that any foreign Communist leader who challenges Moscow's position risks loss of his own position and expulsion from his Party.

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Ideological subservience is buttressed by the attraction of Soviet power. All Communist Parties are tied to the USSR by bonds of self-interest as well as ideology. The USSR was the first country, and continues to be the most powerful, in which a Communist Party has succeeded in seizing state control. Because it has had this center of powerful political authority, Communism has been able to hold together on a world scale.

Ideological indoctrination and Soviet power, however, are not enough to ensure that each and every Communist Party conforms with the demands of Soviet foreign policy. Other methods of guidance are used.

II. The Soviet Center of Direction of the International Communist Movement

Communist principles of organization call for an authoritative center responsible for the interpretation of doctrine and the determination of strategy and tactics, and for the semi-military subordination of lower to higher echelons. This is applied on the national level through each Party's Central Committee which exercises national command functions. On the international level, this principle has been less openly apparent since the abandonment in 1943 of the Comintern apparatus. Yet only the form was changed. Today, it is the Foreign Section of the Central Committee of the CPSU which exercises the covert control functions formerly performed by the Comintern. As such, this Foreign Section provides the center of leadership for the world Communist movement. c 12-n directive

The principal functions of the Soviet Party's Foreign Section include direction over all foreign Communist Parties, direction over all the international front organizations, and the preparation of political studies to assist the formulation of the international Party line. These functions are carried out through direct, as well as indirect, channels.

For specific covert tactical direction, the Foreign Section uses direct links to the foreign Communist Parties; these links are reportedly now maintained by the Soviet Committee for State Security (KGB). Although one defector believed it was possible that the Foreign Section had other, parallel channels into the foreign Communist Parties, he knew that in certain specific areas, the KGB played an important liaison role and conducted much of the clandestine business originally charged to the Comintern apparatus--transmittal of specific political directives, passing of funds, receipt of intelligence information, etc. These functions are assigned to an intelligence service, rather than to the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, because of the competence of an intelligence service to arrange clandestine meetings, procure safehouses, transmit covert funds, etc. Requirements of the Foreign Section placed with the KGB are executed on a priority basis.

The following case is one example of the type of activity in which the Foreign Section engages: specific directives to a foreign Communist Party. In a non-orbit country, the local Party tried to organize violent demonstrations for May Day. Later, when the demonstrations had proved unsuccessful, Moscow informed the local Communist Party, via the KGB resident agent in that country, that violence had been premature. The Party was advised that it would do better to concentrate on building up its mass support through the penetration and control of the labor movement, other left-wing parties, etc.

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The conduct of liaison between the KGB representative and the national Communist Party varies within different countries. In general practice, a specific Party functionary is designated as the Party liaison contact for receiving the Foreign Section's covert directives and instructions. Their meetings are usually held under conditions of secrecy, both sides being anxious to preserve the myth of independent existence. Soviet security agents may occupy cover positions as Tass representatives, diplomatic members of official Soviet establishments, or members of cultural or even trade offices. Party liaison contacts are found in different organs of the national leadership of the Party, or occupying a leading position in a Communist-directed front organization. A favored position is that of Communist Party representative in the national parliament, since in many countries such an office carries with it immunity and privileges which are very helpful to the Party liaison man.

In exceptional cases,

the Foreign Section sometimes sends out its own emissaries on temporary missions. These representatives may conduct their liaison with the national Party under circumstances entirely clandestine, or they may appear partially hidden through attendance at Party congresses and conferences and at international meetings. For the most part, Soviet nationals (reportedly KGB staff personnel) act on behalf of the Foreign Section in guiding foreign Communist Parties during a crucial period. When appropriate, however, leaders of other "fraternal" Parties act in this capacity with Foreign Section concurrence.

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During the period when the young Communist Party of Guatemala was moving to capture organized labor and penetrate the other official political parties, it was guided and directed by a steady stream of experienced Communist leaders from neighboring countries. Both the French and Italian Communist Parties reportedly give general guidance and tactical advice to Communist movements in Africa.

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The Central Committee of the CPSU, however, remains the ultimate control point for the international Communist movement. Moscow allows no pattern of guidance to exist which might challenge the CPSU's position in this respect.

(assumedly)

The Party liaison contacts also perform espionage assignments for the Soviets, and are the recipients of secret funds which the Foreign

Section allocates to their respective Communist Parties.

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III. Role of the Communist Press

In addition to its direct link, the Foreign Section also utilizes indirect, but highly effective, methods of guiding foreign Communist Parties. Through its rigid control of press and radio, the CPSU has an important vehicle for coordinating international Communist thought. It is by these media that the Foreign Section gives the general line and policy to be followed by Communists throughout the world. In this respect, the Communist press is distinctly different from all other forms of journalism.

In the Soviet press, authoritative public statements by leading Soviet Communists reveal the general line being followed by the CPSU. By paying attention to such speeches and writings, any properly indoctrinated foreign Communist discovers how he must act in order to ensure conformity with the wishes of the CPSU on general issues. There is no question of openly challenging or disagreeing with a Moscow pronouncement. So important are these public statements by Soviet Communist leaders that they are echoed and re-echoed in the publications of all foreign Parties; and the Parties subsequently adopt their activities to support the CPSU policy. Thus, Stalin's 1952 directive to exploit "contradictions" among the Western Powers, and Malenkov's report that the US was the chief menace to world peace, set off a chain reaction of propaganda and agitation among Communists over all the world.

Interpretations or changes in Marxist doctrine are also heralded in the Soviet press, for the Soviet Communist Party is the highest authority in this matter. Such aspects of Marxist doctrine are actually conditioned by the requirements of the CPSU. After the death of Stalin, for example, the Soviet press began to lay great stress on the principle of collective leadership -- a principle that was quickly subscribed to and put into (at least public) practice by other Communist Parties.

Dissemination or reaffirmation of general directives in the Soviet press occur frequently in the guise of "scientific discussions" or through some similar excuse. The issue of the CPSU journal, Kommunist, in May 1954, for example, severely criticized the Soviet author of a recent book for errors regarding the existing Communist program in Latin America in general, and in Brazil in particular. The author was told that the current program was established some time before, and that the "minimum program" for Brazil was contained in an article in Kommunist, No. 22 of 1952.

A special method of Soviet guidance of individual Communist Parties is provided by the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform), with its journal, For a Lasting Peace, for a People's Democracy. The Cominform is under the direct control of the Foreign Section of the CPSU's Central Committee, though it maintains its editorial office in Bucharest. Through the medium of the Cominform journal, Communist Parties may exchange their experiences and receive guidance with respect to their own national problems, avoiding at the same time the

appearance of direct Soviet intervention. For every Communist Party knows that the journal speaks with the authoritative voice of Moscow, and no articles are printed without Soviet approval. Thus, any article by a foreign Communist, whether it has to do with his own Party or deals with problems of another Party, is authoritative and commands respect. The Cominform journal also serves to repeat and stress directives already made public in the Soviet press, constant repetition giving emphasis to those deemed most significant by the CPSU for the foreign Parties.

Guidance via the Cominform journal is usually of a broad nature, but it is capable of specific application within individual countries. For instance, the necessity for strengthening the "alliance between the working class and the peasantry" has received heavy treatment for some time, and individual Parties have accordingly stepped up organizational work among rural groups. Similarly, by calling attention to local differences and problems, the Cominform journal has cautioned against a premature use of armed force by some Parties who showed signs of wanting to copy the Chinese pattern before Moscow felt the time was ripe. Occasionally, however, the journal is utilized to rebuke individual foreign Party leaders. Cominform criticism of Nosaka, a leader of the Japanese Communist Party, resulted in a new Party line and caused Nosaka to recant openly. A Cominform journal article which was an indirect reprimand for the policies of Ramadive, then Secretary General of the Communist Party of India, led to his resignation.

Policies and directives laid down in the Soviet and Cominform press are further disseminated through the publications of individual Parties. For the most part, such publications are concerned with national policies and strategy to be followed within the overall framework of Soviet foreign policy. But the press of one Party may also be utilized as an indirect Soviet channel for instruction to another Party. The denotion of Earl Browder from a position of leadership in the Communist Party, U.S.A. (CPUSA) was the direct result of an article appearing in a publication of the French Communist Party. Written by Ducloux, Sec. Gen. of the French Party and known as a "voice" of Moscow, the indictment of Browder heralded Moscow's new "cold war" policy against the United States and sacrificed Browder to this end. The CPUSA was informed via the French Communist publication.

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IV. International Front Organizations

Still another vehicle utilized by the CPSU in guiding individual Communist Party policy and activity is the complex of international front organizations of the Communist movement — World Peace Council (WPC), World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), International Students Union (IUS), etc. While these bodies were created largely for general political action purposes, they also play a significant part in guiding and coordinating the activities of Communist Parties. Frequently, they are able to do this in a broader sphere than the Parties alone might be able to do.

All of these international groups come under the direction of the Foreign Section of the CPSU's Central Committee. Soviet control is maintained through the Soviet representatives to these fronts who hold key positions in the headquarters units, although Soviet representation is never numerically large and the degree of direct guidance is carefully covered up. The Soviets in the international front organizations are usually representatives of the Soviet national affiliate of the international front. [redacted] the Soviet representatives may be staff personnel of the Foreign Section of the Central Committee, but [redacted] they do not necessarily have to be members of that Section. It is possible that they are simply representatives from the Soviet national affiliate although they are under instructions of the Foreign Section of the Central Committee.

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The Soviet representatives remain largely in the background with respect to the daily routine of these front groups, but on the general line to be followed and on any question of particular interest to Moscow they maintain a firm control. The offices of all the international fronts are in constant communication with Moscow. Most of the funds which keep these fronts in business are reportedly contributed by the Soviet Union.

One example may be cited of a Soviet representative, believed to be a functionary of the Foreign Section, who was assigned to an important front organization in order to impose CPSU control over it. Although he remained in the background, he actually directed all of the front's conferences, congresses, etc. During one large congress, he worked out the instructions for each day based on the events of the preceding day, scheduled speeches to be made, and reviewed them beforehand. He was in daily communication with the Foreign Section, presenting his opinion of events and asking the Foreign Section for instructions.

Through the official program adopted by an international front organization, individual Communist Parties receive general guidance as to their own tactics to be followed in a particular sphere — tactics generally executed through the national affiliate of the international parent body, or through whatever comparable organization the Party might influence. Thus, when the WFTU Congress of October 1953 adopted a program calling for increased attention to "colonial and underdeveloped areas" of the world and pointing to the important role which agrarian, or peasant, organizations can play, Communist Parties, particularly in the Far and Middle East and in Latin America, swung into action in order to organize peasant movements and organizations, and to penetrate existing agrarian organizations. Similarly, global activities on behalf of the declarations and resolutions of the WPC show an identical pattern, and correspond closely with current tactical developments of Soviet foreign policy.

In areas where a Communist Party exists, its Central Committee coordinates and supervises national activities on behalf of the fronts. Even where a Party is weak or not yet in existence, branches of the international organizations still serve as a bridgehead to greater Communist influence, arousing the population, flattering them with the attention of an "international" body, and selecting picked delegates for conferences and congresses.

Behind the facade of the fronts, the CPSU also exerts specific tactical direction and furnishes financial aid in advancing Communist influence along lines worked out by the Foreign Section. Delegates from the headquarters of an international front, or from one of its regional offices, travel to non-orbit countries where there is a national affiliate in order to bring specific directives, give on-the-spot guidance, and generally improve local capabilities. For example, the WFTU regional office for Latin America, known as the CTAL, plays an active and important role in coordinating and guiding trade union activities throughout the area. During the rise to power of the Communist Party of Guatemala, that Party was visited by a steady stream of foreign Communist experts in various fields, particularly trade union organizers. In 1951, Saillant, Secretary General of the WFTU, and Lombardo Toledano of the CTAL both went to Guatemala and helped to achieve the unity of labor under Communist control. Funds from the WFTU help support the CTAL and its activities.

Travel by foreign Communists to international congresses and conferences is also a method of effecting Soviet guidance of their activities. By holding such meetings behind the facade of the front, and in locations outside the USSR, the CPSU avoids the appearance of summoning foreign Communists to Moscow for instructions.

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V. Travel and Training

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One of the functions of the CPSU's Foreign Section is the maintenance of dossiers on foreign Communist Party functionaries -- a function formerly performed by the Comintern. It is highly likely that the recommendation of the Foreign Section is an important factor in the selection of persons for key positions in foreign Communist Parties. It is even more likely that no appointment would be made to a key position if the Foreign Section disapproved. The dossiers maintained on foreign Communist functionaries thus serve to enhance CPSU control of individual Parties, and also to enable the Foreign Section to identify foreign Communists suitable for specific tasks, special training, etc.

Communists outside the Soviet orbit gain entry to the satellite countries and the Soviet Union only by invitation. The nature of the business and standing in the Communist hierarchy usually determines whether a particular individual is permitted to enter the Communist Orbit. When travel to Russia or the satellites is required, the matter is generally cleared in advance through Communist Party organs which also make the travel arrangements.

Foreign Communist leaders undertake a great many journeys into the Soviet orbit for "official" reasons which afford them valid excuses. They attend Party conferences and congresses, international front gatherings, May Day celebrations, etc. These gatherings are utilized for meetings with CPSU leaders who brief the foreign Communists on policy and activity and who hear, in turn, details about the national problems. The general practice is for important Communists to use pretexts for their visits to the USSR and the orbit. Thus, in addition to official meetings, foreign Communist functionaries travel for "medical treatment", to enjoy a holiday, etc. Sometimes a trip will be made under special security measures, the Communist traveler ostensibly visiting in the free world near the Soviet orbit, but journeying suddenly across the border. Since Soviet and Satellite visas are not always stamped into passports, it becomes difficult to pinpoint such trips.

Complementing the travel of foreigners to the Soviet orbit has been the travel of Soviet delegations to non-Orbit countries. Frequently (possibly usually) such delegations include a KGB agent. In 1954 Soviet delegations to Latin America, for instance, counted a chess team, a sharpshooting team, medical delegations, and theatrical artists. Ilya Ehrenburg, the Soviet author and propagandist also visited Latin America for the ostensible purpose of presenting a Stalin Peace Prize to Pablo Neruda, the Chilean Communist poet.

In particular, the CPSU seeks to hide the travel of foreign Communists to the Soviet Union who are to receive training in Soviet

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Communist institutions. Within the Communist movement there is an extraordinary emphasis placed upon the schooling of Party members in special attitudes and skills. The Communist must constantly study theory and learn from experience, and many Communist Parties have elaborate programs of training. The USSR, however, has always provided the most important training schools for Communists from all countries. Many of the leaders of foreign Communist Parties today are graduates of the Comintern training schools. The training schools in the Soviet Union have continued to receive students from foreign Parties, generally high level or medium level functionaries. Upon their return home, these functionaries usually exercise even greater influence within their Parties. The training of these individual foreign Communist leaders strengthens CPSU guidance of individual Communist Parties and Soviet dominance of the international movement.

Travel by foreign Communists to the ^{Soviet} orbit will occasionally be described as being for purposes of "studying", but, more frequently, their training takes place under some cover arrangement. As indicated previously, medical treatment, holidays, etc. are used. For some Communist schools, the most frequently used cover is that of the trainees melting into delegations attending international Communist-sponsored conferences inside or outside the Iron Curtain. Before, during or after the conference, the trainee slips away from his delegation, attends school, and eventually returns home later than other members of the delegation.

The Soviet-directed training courses have been variously described as special training in Marxist political indoctrination, labor organization, student organization, journalism, political orientation, modern political tactics, Marxist leadership, Communist Party political capacitation and syndical training, and political and ideological qualifying course. Special emphasis is given to labor organizational courses, evidenced in the school set up by the WFTU but run largely on a clandestine basis. Courses are given with appropriate regional slants. For example, trainees from the "colonial and underdeveloped" areas are taught in terms of problems of their own areas, such as "colonialism." At the same time, the experience of the world-wide Communist movement is drawn on in teaching the students.

Students, as well as other visiting foreign Communists, are debriefed on their Party and on conditions in their country. These debriefings, plus the flow of other reports reaching the CPSU through its diplomatic and intelligence channels and from the headquarters of the front organizations, provide the Foreign Section with data necessary to formulate the international Communist line in accordance with the best interests of Soviet foreign policy.

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VI. The Satellites

In each of the satellite countries, the Communist Party is the main instrument for Soviet control; for the most part the control is fairly overt, at least to the extent that it is known to most members of the satellite Communist Party. In Poland, for example, the main communications link is the Soviet Ambassador, [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] *probably*
In addition to the diplomatic channel, there is direct liaison between the Foreign Section of the Central Committee, CPSU, and the corresponding unit in the satellite Communist Party.

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A less ostensible channel of control has been that of the Soviet "advisory" system. In the period following World War II, Soviet "advisors" were attached to provincial and headquarters offices of the security services of the satellite governments. [REDACTED]

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The "advisory" system is still in effect though with varying degrees of coverage, depending on political events (purges, for example) and Soviet policy with regard to the individual satellite government. Obviously, any local action contrary to CPSU aims or interests inevitably would be reported to Moscow by the Soviet advisor.

A program has been set up reportedly "under special Russian arrangement and direction" whereby each satellite Communist Party is responsible for financially aiding one non-Orbit Communist Party on a regular and systematic basis. The funds for this reportedly come from confiscated properties which were taken over by satellite governments at the end of World War II. This program is to some degree a mutual assistance plan, since the non-Orbit Communist Party receiving aid has in some instances performed specific tasks for the contributing satellite Communist Party.

Thus, in some non-Orbit areas, a satellite intelligence service has been permitted (by the satellite Communist Party's Central Committee) to establish covert contact with a local Communist Party for the purpose of getting information which the non-Orbit Party was able to provide. In such cases, in view of the Soviet "advisory" system, KGB has been an indirect recipient of information procured in this way, and satellite liaison with non-Orbit Communist Parties appears to have supplemented Soviet liaison with these Parties, especially for the purpose of procuring information.

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